

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

VOLUME V, NUMBER 49

WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUGUST 17, 1936

Broad Effects Seen From Labor Rupture

Suspension of Lewis Unions by Federation of Labor May Lead to Rival Organization

POLITICAL RESULTS FEARED

Democrats Afraid Republicans Will Woo Green Faction and Split Labor Vote in November

The internal struggle within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor came to a head early this month when the executive council of the organization voted to suspend 10 of the unions which belong to the Committee for Industrial Organization. While the order suspending the unions from membership does not become effective until September 5, it is almost certain that the unions which make up the Committee for Industrial Organization will not yield to the demands of the executive council that they stop their activities. Thus the rift in organized labor, which has been threatening for the last two years, has at last become a reality. Organized labor no longer stands as a unit, but is divided into two opposing groups, each with different aims and objectives.

Basic Conflict

We have already treated in some detail, in previous issues of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, the basic conflict between the two groups of the American Federation of Labor. We need at this time only call attention to the bare essentials of the conflict before discussing the broad significance of this development. For a number of years, the Federation has been divided into two camps, those who favor the industrial union and those who favor the craft union as the best type of labor organization. The A. F. of L. itself is composed of both types of union, but since its organization in 1886 has been dominated by craft unions. The craft union cuts across all industries and takes its membership from workers who perform the same type of work. Thus there is a machinists' union whose membership comes from the steel, the automobile, and many other industries. Because it cuts across different industries, the craft union is also called the horizontal union.

The industrial union, on the other hand, disregards the type of work its members perform but organizes them according to the industry in which they work. Thus all the coal miners belong to a single union, all the textile workers to another, automobile workers to another, and so on. Because the entire membership of an industrial union is made up of workers in one industry, this type of labor organization is also called the vertical union.

To a certain extent the clash within the A. F. of L. has been a clash of personalities. The "rebel" group has been led by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, largest union in the Federation. Mr. Lewis is also head of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Aligned against him is President William Green of the Federation and those who for years have controlled its machinery and dictated its policies. These leaders have been well known for their conservatism, whereas the Lewis group is much more liberal in its views on economic problems and the role which labor should play in American industrial life.

(Concluded on page 8)



"WILL YOU WALK INTO MY PARLOR?"

—Elderman in Washington Post

A Practical Idealist

Lincoln Steffens, who died the other day at the age of 70, was a good reporter. He could explain events, conditions, or men because he understood them. That made him a good reporter. But he did not stop where so many good reporters do. He was not satisfied with surface explanations. Most reporters are. They consider such explanations to be the end of their endeavors. That is why one cannot become very well informed by reading newspapers. The reader learns a great deal about passing events and superficial developments, but he acquires too little which helps him to understand problems in their larger aspects. But Steffens went out not only for facts but for truth, and there is a definite distinction to be made with respect to the terms. Truth-seeking implies a study of the relation of facts. It means going beneath the surface. It calls for thinking and appraisal and interpretation after the facts are all in. That is a process with which the ordinary reporter—the ordinary good reporter—is unfamiliar, but it was a process followed by Steffens. He was not only a reporter but a psychologist, a sociologist, a political scientist. So he not only described graft, corruption, crime in the cities, but he explained these things. In "The Shame of the Cities," he analyzed causes, and contributed to better government.

This contribution suggests another unusual characteristic. Here was a reporter who was not satisfied to describe what he saw. If what he saw was unpleasant, tragic, shameful, he wanted to change it. So he became more than a reporter. He was an educator, a reformer. He tried to improve the conditions he deplored.

The effectiveness of Lincoln Steffens was the greater because of his objectivity. He felt deeply but he kept his emotions subordinated to reason. He did not allow his feelings to warp his judgments. He hated bossism and its consequences, but that did not prevent his seeing admirable qualities in individual bosses. He could see human qualities, even qualities of goodness, in criminals. He was realistic in his studies of people and of situations. He could separate in his mind the worthy from the unworthy. He could look upon a social situation with the objectivity which one expects of the physical scientist but rarely finds among those who discuss social facts and conditions. His vision was long. His goal was set on the far-off mountain tops of social perfection, but he studied with a realistic eye, each step to be taken toward the distant objective. He was a practical man—a practical idealist.

Greek Dictatorship Follows Labor Ills

Workers' Demands for Better Conditions Answered by Abolition of Legislature

NEW ALIGNMENT EXPECTED

Liberals and Conservatives Have Tightened Lines Since Restoration of Monarchy Last November

The governmental change which occurred in Greece early this month came as a surprise to those who have followed fairly closely the turn of events in that corner of Europe. Although it was completely overshadowed in the press by the far more important developments in Spain, it is nevertheless significant that a "temporary" dictatorship was established in Greece. The legislative body was abolished, martial law was established, and the premier, John Metaxas, assumed the more important posts in the Greek cabinet. Whether the dictatorship will actually be a temporary matter, to last only long enough to restore order, or whether it will become permanent, are matters which cannot be foreseen at this time.

A Facist Regime?

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the political upset in Greece was the possibility of its leading to another fascist régime in Europe, falling in line with those countries of Europe which have already established authoritarian governments of the Hitler and Mussolini brand. It is known that Mr. Metaxas has appointed to important positions men who have definite fascist leanings and also that the dictatorship was established for the expressed purpose of combating communism which, during recent months, has had considerable influence in Greece. As an explanation of the unexpected action, the government declared: "The country was faced with an abnormal situation as it was on the eve of the outbreak of a subversive and seditious movement fostered by Communist propaganda which has as its aims disaffection of the army and spreading of the spirit of anarchy." Thus Premier Metaxas used the same excuse in acting with vigor as fascist leaders have done in other countries when they have placed themselves in absolute authority.

The immediate cause of the coup, as we pointed out last week, was a strike which the labor unions had called. The labor unions which supported the strike were radical and the conservative unions opposed it. Whether it was inspired by Communists or merely by liberals and radicals is not clear. At any rate, the strike was called as a protest against recent decrees of the government which called for fixing minimum wages and for submitting all labor disputes to compulsory arbitration. Other provisions of the decree prohibited strikes, and recently the government has forbade workers to hold meetings. The excuse of the government for adopting such strong tactics was that it feared serious labor disturbances and had to act in order to maintain internal order.

As a matter of fact, unrest had been growing in Greece for a number of months prior to the calling of the general strike early this month. Since May there have been a number of serious strikes in various parts of the country. These strikes have been laid at the door of the Communists, and the government feared far-reaching

consequences. The situation had been rendered more acute by conditions in neighboring Bulgaria. There the Communists have engineered a strike which has swept to many parts of the country. The Greek government is said to believe that the strike was supported by Communists outside Bulgaria and that if action were not taken, attempts would be made to spread disturbances throughout the Balkans, especially to Greece.

Internal Situation

The situation had become so acute in Greece that King George II, who after an exile of a dozen years was restored to the throne last November, refused to leave the country on his vacation. It is assumed that he condoned the action of Metaxas in establishing a dictatorship because of the gravity of the situation, although he is known to oppose autocratic government. For that reason, many observers feel that the present régime will be only temporary and that as soon as the present crisis passes new elections will be held and democratic government restored.

However that may be, it cannot be de-



© Wide World

GENERAL JOHN METAXAS

nied that the problems confronting present-day Greece are serious indeed. Until recently, there have been few attempts at social and economic reforms, despite the crying need for definite action. Governmental leaders have been more interested in their own political fortunes than in the needs of the people, as evidenced by the fact that during the 12-year period of the king's exile the country was the scene of no less than 20 revolutions. Politics has been a major occupation and source of interest to the people and visitors to Greece have often pointed out the bitterness of the political discussions.

An indication of the crying need for reform is seen from a survey which was recently made of the living conditions of representative working families. Of 500 typical families, it was found that more than half of them were living on wages amounting to less than \$20 a month. Taxation has been heavy, almost more than the people could bear, and has shown signs of increasing as the government has made plans for heavier expenditures on armaments. The problems have been rendered more acute by the settlement of Greek refugees from other countries, principally Turkey, which has added from two to three million new citizens to the population of Greece. In order to keep its economic machinery going at all, huge sums of money have had to be borrowed from abroad, and the interest on these foreign borrowings constitutes a serious drain upon the Greek treasury.

One thing the wave of strikes this year has done has been

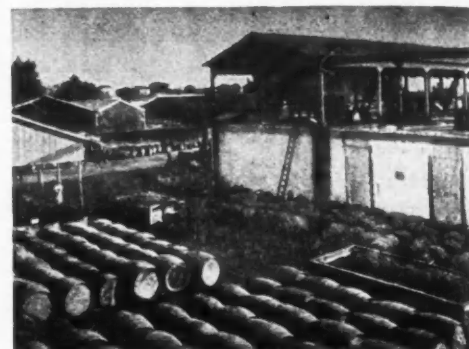
to stir the government to action, for within the last few months it has undertaken a number of reforms. In a number of instances, wage increases have followed strikes and the government has warned private industry that if it cannot provide better conditions for workers, the government may be obliged to interfere. Only a short while before the recent declaration of martial law, the premier made this significant statement on labor conditions in Greece: "Although Communists do in fact exploit the workers, we have to admit that their demands have a basic foundation." Some observers have pointed to the lack of consistency between this statement and Metaxas' recent acts. But it cannot in fact be denied that the government has attempted to put into effect certain basic reforms since the restoration of the monarchy.

Politics Bitter

It would, of course, be a serious mistake to ignore the political aspects of the latest developments in Greece, for they are extremely important. Although the character of internal politics has greatly changed since the return of George, the strife which had been so pronounced for 20 years is by no means dead. The country is largely divided into two main factions which represent primarily the same alignment that has existed for years. These groups may be classed as Venizelists and anti-Venizelists, deriving these appellations from the great Greek leader and patriot, Eleutherios Venizelos, who died a few months ago. The division brought about by Venizelos still dominates Greek politics, just as it did during his lifetime, whether he was actually on the scene or in exile. As William Miller, writing in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs*, points out, in speaking of the influence of Venizelos, "absent or present, by the affection and antipathy which he inspired, he dominated the scene till his death deprived his friends of their real if exiled leader, and his foes of their sole bond of union. For the real division of parties had long been not into royalists and republicans, but into Venizelists and anti-Venizelists. As long as he lived his supporters used his name as a battle-cry; his enemies, however much they might differ among themselves, . . . were united in opposition to him."

King George

When King George returned to Greece, he was confronted by the difficult task of reconciling these opposing groups. At first, he met the opposition of the royalists who had instigated his restoration because he insisted upon democratic government and



TWO ASPECTS OF LIFE IN MODERN GREECE—THE HOME AND THE FACTORY

—Photos by Fred Boissonas

proved that he would not be a tool of the monarchists. For his liberalism he won the support of the Venizelists, the so-called democratic or liberal party. From the very beginning, he announced that he would be king "of all the Greeks," not merely of a single faction. He immediately called the political leaders together and sought a truce between the warring factions.

It cannot be said that the king succeeded in accomplishing his ends. He was unable to get the Venizelists and anti-Venizelists to forget their differences and to form a coalition government. As Mr. Miller points out, his failure to effect a reconciliation was "not so much owing to any fundamental difference of principles as to the innate desire of both parties to hold the key positions in the cabinet."

The internal political situation has been further complicated by the fact that at the elections held in January there was victory for neither of the two major parties. The division among the two principal combinations in the Chamber of Deputies was 143 and 142 seats. The Communists won 15 seats and were thus in a position of holding the balance of power. With this alignment, it became practically impossible for the legislative body to function smoothly and it was thus adjourned for a period of five months. A neutral ministry, headed by General Metaxas, was appointed which, although it has little support from the electorate, was able to win the confidence of the parliament largely because the two main groups could not come to terms.

Since the adjournment of the Chamber in April, this ministry, and a commission of 40, has been governing the country by issuing decrees. It was certain of these decrees which stirred the opposition of the radical trade unions and brought the decision to call a general strike early this month. Even before the declaration of martial law and the establishment of dictatorship, the radical groups had protested against the government's "dictatorial and anti-social" measures and policies.

Underneath the present turmoil, there are fundamental conflicts in Greece which seem to be growing in importance. An observer, writing recently for the *Christian Science Monitor*, calls attention to the

growing cleavage between Venizelists and anti-Venizelists on truly fundamental economic issues. He points out that the liberals are becoming more liberal, veering more to the side of the Communists, and the conservatives are becoming more conservative. He sizes up the political division as follows:

New Alignment

A striking political realignment has taken place since the return of King George. The liberal elements are tending to become more liberal, the Communists more determined, and the conservatives more nationalist, and even fascist.

As such, the liberals demand that radical elements cease existing as an organized party, considering that their program gives satisfaction to a greater number of their desiderata.

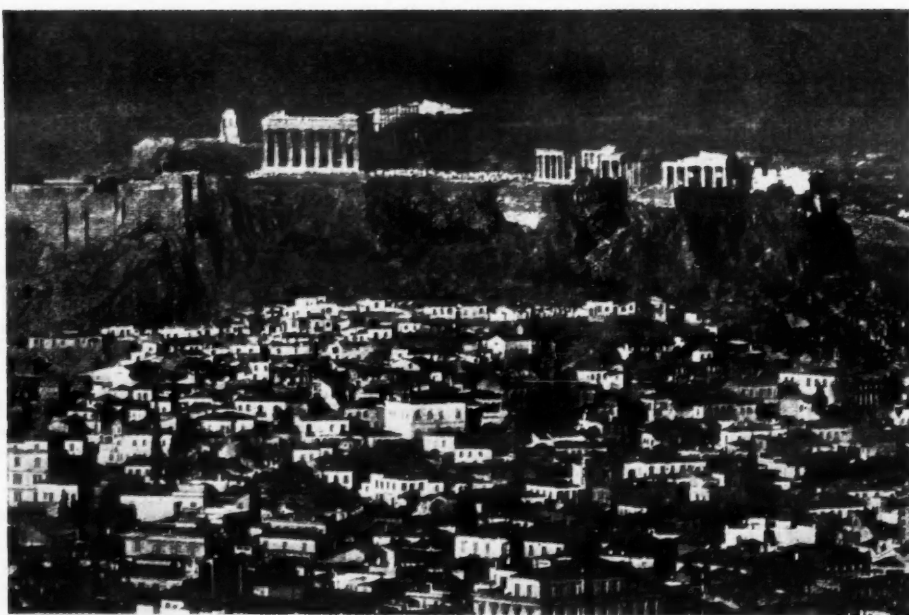
Nationalists, fearing the union and predominance of the leftists, are exerting themselves to join hands in a league and combat the radicals in a united front.

A secret agreement was concluded some months ago between the Liberal party (Venizelists) and the Communist bloc represented in the Chamber by 15 deputies.

In the terms of this accord Communists undertook to support the Liberal party and the latter in return undertook to meet Communist claims in a number of points, such as the establishment in the country of a more liberal administration, the release of Communists, either imprisoned or banished, and the application of a series of measures for the amelioration of the social and economic situation of the laboring classes.

Whether this growing cleavage between the major political groups had anything to do with the decision to abolish democratic government can be determined only by future developments in Greece. It is conceivable that Premier Metaxas, opposed to communism and fearing the gradual domination of the Left and its eventual control of the government, acted with such force as to stop such a movement at its beginnings.

It is significant that the growing division between those with radical tendencies and those leaning to the fascist side is present in Greece as elsewhere in Europe. Sufficient information is not available at present to know whether the latest development in Greece is due primarily to the same conflict as exists in Spain, France, and certain other European countries. If the Metaxas dictatorship turns out to be permanent and follows fascist lines, it will certainly affect European politics deeply, especially Balkan politics, for those countries are particularly sensitive to all political developments in that section of Europe. We have already pointed out that the Greek crisis may have been partially provoked by internal conditions in Bulgaria, and it is not at all unlikely that the future of neighboring countries will depend to a considerable extent upon the outcome of the present situation in Greece.



PRESENT-DAY ATHENS—A VIEW OF THE ACROPOLIS

—Illustration from "Everyday Life in Ancient Greece."

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and the last two weeks in August) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931 at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD

CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON
FRED J. KELLY DAVID S. MUZZEY
WALTER E. MYER, Editor

PAUL D. MILLER, Associate Editor

AROUND THE WORLD

Spain: The developments in the Spanish civil war, as we go to press, are as follows: Neither the loyalists nor the rebels appear to be making any decisive military gains. The loyalists still hold Madrid and the excellent port of San Sebastian, while the insurgent troops are strongly entrenched in the northern part of Spain. General Emilio Mola, one of the chief leaders of the rebels, continues to set dates when he is going to "take Madrid," but has not acted up until now. Perhaps he will have made his drive before this paper reaches its readers.

Passing from the internal to the international aspect of this affair, we find France still trying determinedly to get other nations to remain neutral in Spain's class war. Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Belgium, Portugal, and the Netherlands have all given fairly assuring pledges that they will not take sides in this dispute. Germany qualified her pledge, however, by demanding that Russia give up her present intention of giving indirect aid to the Spanish loyalists, that is, financial support. Germany's position was somewhat embarrassing, though, when several of her planes were found to be fighting in Spain on the side of the rebels.

Thus the situation is still confused and continues to be packed with dynamite. Certain observers feel that the British government is lending its moral, if not physical, support to the Spanish rebels. The present government in England, of course, is conservative. Many British officials would not like at all to see communism spread to Spain. Moreover, they feel more inclined toward the Spanish insurgents, since General Francisco Franco, leader of the rebels, recently said that he is not cooperating with Italy. This appeared to many as a definite bid for British sympathy. To top this off, the British demanded that there be no more fighting in Gibraltar harbor. They claimed that gunfire in those waters endangered the lives of people who traveled in neutral trading and passenger vessels. The British ultimatum, backed up by threat of action on the part of British gunners in Gibraltar waters, is considered quite a blow to the loyalists, because their warships are now blocked



© Acme

COLLECTIVE LUNCH ON A COLLECTIVE FARM IN RUSSIA AT HARVEST TIME

erty and killing priests. It urged the government to check these "painful excesses."

Russia: One of the pictures on this page is that of a collective farm in Russia. This comparatively new land movement has greatly changed the appearance of the Russian countryside, according to Lewis L. Lorwin, who is an American official of the International Labor Organization in Geneva and who recently made a study of conditions in his home country of Russia. Mr. Lorwin describes the changes in these words:

Compared to the city, the Soviet village presents but few external manifestations of change. As one sees these villages from the train or passes them in an automobile, one gets the impression of the village of old pre-revolutionary days. But even in the villages one cannot miss signs of a revolution in progress. The first evidence of this second revolution is the appearance of the fields. To one who remembers the old Russian landscape with its patchwork of closely-cut little strips, the new sight of endless fields stretching in all directions without fences anywhere has a stirring suggestiveness. These fields are the outward form of a land system based on a new type of ownership and on a new method of work. And the significance of this revolution is further suggested by the tractors, combines and other modern machinery in the fields and at the so-called tractor-stations, and by the new grain elevators along the road.

Even more suggestive are the signs of the cultural revolution that is taking place. The creches, schools, and clinics to be found in the villages, and the agricultural laboratories, very simple and crude though they may be, are symbolic of the effort to bring new ways and scientific methods into daily life. All these new elements, though still in the most rudimentary stage, represent the beginnings of a new rural civilization, likely to arise on the economic basis of collectivization.

Germany: Americans are quite amused over Germany's explanations of our successes in the Olympic games. To begin with, the Nazi party's official newspaper contends that in reality we did not win the games at all. It reported to the German people that Europe, headed by Germany, crushed America's athletic superiority. In other words, the Nazis added up the scores of all the nations of Europe and compared those with our single scores. Of course, the United States compares favorably with Europe from the standpoint of size, but the population of all Europe is considerably larger than that of our country.

The second explanation given by the Nazi paper was that we would have made a terribly disappointing showing if it had not been for the Negro members of our

team. But the point is, they were on our team and they are Americans. However, this reply does not make sense to the Nazis whose views on racial matters differ from our own.

The newspaper stories to which we have referred illustrate once again the garbled news which is handed out to the German people by the Nazi government. There is absolutely no freedom of press in that country, and the people may read only what the Nazis desire them to read. It must be disconcerting to thousands of Germans who attended the Olympic games, however, to know that they must rely for their facts on newspapers which distorted the facts so grotesquely in dealing with a situation that these people had seen with their own eyes.

France: The enthusiasm for the Popular Front government in France is waning, according to M. E. Ravage, an American writer who is now in that country. In an article in the August 8 issue of *The Nation*, Mr. Ravage says that even though the Blum government has acted quickly to put its program into effect, and has already placed the Bank of France under its control, supporters of the Popular Front are discontented. They are asking why the government refuses to take more vigorous action against its enemies. Certain well-known fascists and royalists still hold public offices. Fascist leagues, or organizations, which were supposed to be dissolved, are beginning to come to life. The Blum government, says Mr. Ravage, "is forever leaning backward lest it be suspected of having revolutionary designs and thereby risk losing the confidence of the financial bigwigs. It has not only kept scrupulously within the constitution; it has hesitated to do a multitude of perfectly legal and indispensable things dictated by self-preservation, which its enemies fully expected it to do and would have respected it for doing."

Other writers point out, on the other hand, that the Blum government has had to move cautiously and has been prudent in doing so. They claim that the French people do not desire too drastic action by the government and would rebel against it. Which of these two viewpoints is correct, remains to be seen. It is generally agreed, however, that if fascism is established in Spain, the French government, with the con-

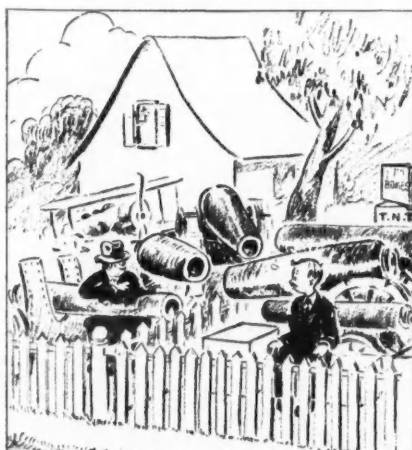
sent of the majority of the people, will take stern measures to see that a similar condition is made impossible in France.

China: The Chinese National Government, at Nanking, is making a vigorous drive to bring a greater part of the nation's industry and agriculture under its guidance and control. The Ministry of Industries has been given authority to work closely with business leaders. The government will use its influence to promote trade and industry through a larger degree of economic planning.

The man in charge of this program, Wu Ting-chang, is an increasingly important figure in Chinese affairs. He is the first lieutenant of General Chiang Kai-shek, head of the government. The general is said to have complete confidence in Wu Ting-chang and is entrusting him with a growing amount of government duties. Since Minister Wu is heartily in favor of having the government take a more active part in planning and controlling the economic life of China, it is taken for granted that these are also the views held by General Chiang.

Mongolia: The Mongolias, Inner and Outer, have come increasingly into the limelight in the last few years chiefly owing to the growing conflict between Russia and Japan for control over them. That it is a vast territory is witnessed by the fact that the Mongolias are three times as large as Britain, France, Germany, and Italy together. While much of this land is capable of productivity, a large part of it is desert. Moreover, while most of the two million or so inhabitants are nomadic tribes, living in much the same way as rural peoples did many centuries back, it may be surprising to some to learn that the capital city, Urga, is fairly much modernized and up-to-date. It has airplane services, movie houses, theaters, electricity, buses, schools, and a democratic parliament.

Denmark: The capital city, Copenhagen, played host a few days ago to Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. The colonel, whose scientific accomplishments compete with his aviation triumphs, demonstrated his "mechanical heart" to an international congress of medical scientists. Dr. Alexis Carrel, who cooperated with Colonel Lindbergh in inventing the artificial heart, told the group of scientists that much work remained to be done in learning about cells, but he expressed the belief that the apparatus which he and Colonel Lindbergh have developed is a big step forward.



SOME CALL THIS SECURITY

—Christian Science Monitor

from trying to shut off the rebel forces in Spain proper from those in Morocco. If this division could be brought about, the insurgents would be in a bad way.

Loyalist sympathizers are severely criticizing England's drastic action. Whether the loyalist forces will defy British supremacy in that region, as Italy did, is a matter of concern.

In the midst of all these complications came a forceful protest to Madrid from the Vatican. The message spared no words in denouncing the left-wing forces in Spain for their activities in burning church prop-





SITE A MILE FROM WEST MIDDLESEX, PENNSYLVANIA, BIRTHPLACE OF ALF. M. LANDON, WHERE HE WILL LAUNCH HIS CAMPAIGN

Roosevelt Gains

On the strength of 166,000 ballots gathered from all states of the Union, the recent poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion shows an increase in popular approval for President Roosevelt. The poll which was announced four weeks ago gave the President 51.8 per cent of the popular votes. This one gives him 52.4 per cent.

However, the 28 states which are safely Democratic give the President only 255 electoral votes—not enough to make the necessary majority of 266 in the electoral college. On the other hand, the poll shows Governor Landon with a lead in 20 states, carrying a total of 276 electoral votes. These include the pivotal and populous states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, all of which now have Democratic governors. On the basis of the 28 states which seem reasonably safe for the President, he would be assured of election if he carried any one of these pivotal states.

Since the last poll, the President has gained strength in at least seven drought-stricken states. However, in these states the candidacy of Representative William Lemke will cut into the strength of the President more than it will reduce the Republican vote. The poll shows that of every 100 votes cast for Lemke, 70 had voted for Roosevelt in 1932,



JOHN J. MC SWAIN

nine for Hoover, and four for Thomas. Fourteen had not voted in 1932 and three will vote for the first time this fall.

The Candidates

President Roosevelt returned last week to Washington from his home at Hyde Park. After completing some necessary work, he will leave on a tour of inspection of the areas in western Pennsylvania which suffered last spring from floods. Following his Pennsyl-

vania trip, the chief executive will depart for a trip into the drought belt. He wants to familiarize himself with conditions from first-hand observations. While in the drought belt, he will hold conferences on how the problem can be relieved. One conference is scheduled with the governors of five states, including Governor Landon of Kansas.

Governor Landon has left for a vacation in Colorado where he will prepare for his invasion of the East late this month. He is scheduled to speak at West Middlesex, Pennsylvania, his birthplace, on August 22. On August 24 he will give an evening address at Chautauqua Lake, New York. The following day he will speak at Buffalo, where he will also confer with party leaders. En route from Chicago to the East, the Landon train will make numerous brief stops at Ohio and Pennsylvania towns where the Republican candidate will have an opportunity to greet thousands of voters.

Liberty League Neutral

The American Liberty League recently announced that it would not endorse any party or presidential candidate. Neither will it make any contributions to campaign funds. Because its members have been critical of New Deal legislation sponsored by the Roosevelt administration, it was expected that the League would endorse Governor Landon. The announcement that the League will not make campaign contributions will not prevent its members, as individuals, from contributing to party war chests.

The League, organized in 1934, has recruited its prominent members largely from wealthy industrialists and from Democrats, some of whom have been closely identified with former Governor Smith of New York. The League claims a membership of 150,000 persons, many of whom contributed only \$1 as a membership fee. Its executive officer is Jouett Shouse, a businessman and former newspaper editor, once a member of Congress from Kansas. Since the League and its policies have been vigorously attacked during recent months, it is expected that prominent members may find another organization through which they can oppose the Roosevelt candidacy.

"Constitutional" Democrats

The bolting of presidential candidates by prominent members of both major political parties produces an uncertain element in the approaching election. The "constitutional" Democrats, numbering 45, met in Detroit a few days ago, where they were invited by Sterling E. Edmunds, a St. Louis lawyer, who has been active in opposition to the ratification of the child labor amendment. Ex-Senator James A. Reed of Missouri was the chairman of the conference. Other Democrats in attendance included Joseph B. Ely, former governor of Massachusetts; Bainbridge Colby, former secretary of state; Henry Breckenridge, opponent of President Roosevelt in the preferential primaries of several states; Joseph W.

Bailey, Jr., former congressman from Texas; and John Henry Kirby, head of the Southern League to Uphold the Constitution. Alfred E. Smith, former governor of New York and prominent spokesman for the American Liberty League, declined to attend the conference. William A. Comstock, former governor of Michigan, failed to appear when the conference convened.

The conferees hoped to devise ways of preventing the reelection of President Roosevelt. Ex-Governor Ely's recommendation was rejected by the votes of delegates from southern states when he proposed that the convention endorse Governor Landon. According to ex-Senator Reed, the bolters look forward to a nationwide speaking campaign.

Bolting has also developed in the Republican ranks. William Hale Thompson, twice mayor of Chicago, announced that he will be a candidate for governor of Illinois on the Lemke Union party ticket. His running mate for United States senator will be Newton Jenkins, three times an unsuccessful third-party candidate for the senatorship in that state. The Thompson candidacy is thought to be a

until after the election of November 1940. The senatorial contests this year none will be watched more closely than that of Idaho where Governor Ben C. Ross is running against Senator William E. Borah.

The Negro Vote

The Negroes will figure more prominently in the approaching presidential campaign than they have in any election since reconstruction days. There will be at least 2,000,000 votes cast by Negroes. Almost all of these ballots will be marked north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers. In Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri the Negro vote may be a deciding factor in the election.

The campaign managers are aware of this condition. While the Negroes have been affiliated with the Republican Party in the past, it is conceded that this year the Democrats will muster at least half of the Negro vote in many places. Negroes have been given jobs in state and city administrations under Democratic control. They have not felt any discrimination in the administration of relief. The members of the race have become candidates for public office in many places on the tickets of both major parties.

This is best illustrated in Chicago where two Negroes are opponents for the seat in the first congressional district of Illinois. Oscar DePriest served two terms in Congress as a Republican from this district before he was defeated in 1934 by Arthur Mitchell. This year Mitchell and DePriest will again battle to represent the district which extends over a portion of the business district and over a part of the highly congested Negro belt.

Overlapping Jobs

At the last session of Congress Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, an advocate of economy in government, secured the appointment of a Senate committee to study the overlapping of government services. While this has been a pressing problem before the federal government for a long time, his efforts were especially aimed at the agencies created during the past three years, in the work of which, he was convinced, there was much warranted duplication of effort.

Senator Byrd asked five national authorities to serve as advisers to his committee. These included Louis Brownlow of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago and Luther Gulick of the Institute of Public Administration. Other members included President H. W. Dodds of Princeton University, John D. Clark, an economist; and former Governor William T. Gardiner of Maine.



SAY IT OPENLY, FELLOW!

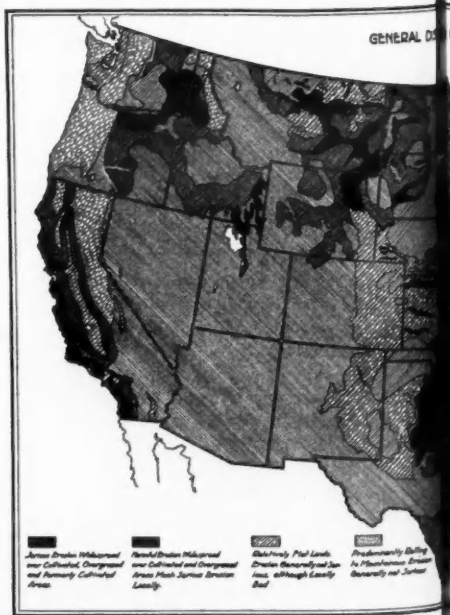
—Elderman in Washington Post

retaliation against the Republican leadership in Illinois. It has no national significance, except that it may give the 29 electoral votes of Illinois to the Democrats.

Claims for Congress

Both Republican and Democratic leaders claim a control of the House of Representatives to be elected in November. Representative P. H. Drewry of Virginia, chairman of the House campaign committee, claims that there will be little change in the next House from the present membership of 315 Democrats and 104 Republicans. Should the Democrats lose every seat which they won in 1934 by less than 10,000 majority, they would still have a working majority of 40 in the House, Representative Drewry claims. However, Representative Robert Low Bacon of New York, vice chairman of the Republican congressional committee, predicts that the Republicans will have a majority in the next House when it convenes in January. In order to accomplish this the Republicans will have to increase their seats by at least 125.

Since only one-third of the members of the upper house are up for election this year, there is not the slightest chance that the Democrats will lose control of the Senate in November. The present Senate, barring a few vacancies, consists of 70 Democrats, 23 Republicans, two Farmer-Laborites and one Progressive. The Republican minority cannot be changed to a majority this year because many of the Senate seats to be filled are from such traditionally Democratic states as South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Florida, and Virginia. There is no chance, therefore, that the Republicans will again control the upper house



MAP SHOWING GENERAL DIS

United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

The President also received an appropriation for the appointment of a similar committee. When announced, his committee included the names of Brownlow and Clark, with E. Merriam of the University of Chicago as a third member. Before Congress adjourned a third committee, consisting of five House members, was appointed to study the problem. It now looks as though there are three committees to do one job. It is expected, since there is duplication in the personnel of the committees, that they will be combined to study the problem of simplification and economy in the federal government.

PWA Housing

The PWA announced a few days ago that construction would be started immediately on a quarter-million-dollar housing project at Layne, Pennsylvania, a Main Line suburb of Philadelphia. The plan calls for the erection of 50 dwelling units which will cover only 20 per cent of the land utilized, the remaining area to be landscaped and used for play areas. To prepare for this construction, 17 badly deteriorated buildings were razed and 41 families moved to temporary quarters.

Authorization has also been given to commence work on a PWA housing project at Lexington, Kentucky, to cost \$1,403,000. This enterprise, located on a 68-acre tract, will provide accommodations for 286 families of limited incomes. Construction will consist of the erection of one- and two-story houses and flats. They will be equipped with electric lighting and refrigeration, together with gas for cooking and indoor sanitary facilities. The yards will be sufficiently large to provide spaces for gardening.

Misuse of the Soil

The American people have seen the results of erosion and dust storms. They have read of the recent spring floods and have gazed at pictures of the damage which swollen streams have done. Experts have told us of the possible exhaustion of our resources through the improper cropping of land. Some have even painted the picture of a rapidly declining American civilization if we do not master the erosion problem. We have heard and read many estimates of the dangers of soil erosion. Stuart Chase, in *Harper's* for August, discusses what is happening to America as the crop lands disappear. He gives us an estimate of the amount of erosion when he writes:

Three billion tons of solid material are washed out of the fields and pastures of America every year by water erosion. To load and haul away this incomprehensible bulk of rich farm soil would require a train of freight cars 475,000 miles long; enough to girdle the planet 19 times at the equator. Approximately 400 million tons of solid



—Courtesy Soil Erosion Service

DISCUSSION OF SOIL EROSION IN U. S.

earth are dumped into the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi alone—the greater part of it super-soil, richer than that of the Nile. Plant food can be restored to soil that has been worn lean by cropping, but when water takes the soil itself—minerals, humus, microscopic organisms, everything—only nature can restore fertility to that land, and her rate, under primeval conditions, is one inch every 500 years.

This is only part of Mr. Chase's indictment of America's misuse of the soil. However, it is enough to cause many to wonder if the federal government, through CCC, RA, soil conservation service, TVA, flood control projects, together with the soil conservation program of AAA, is doing all that is actually needed to conserve our most essential resource—soil.

Drought and Fires

Prolonged drought conditions have developed a tinder box in the northern forest belt with the result that forest fires have been raging in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota for more than two weeks. Careless campers are believed to have been the cause of the extensive destruction. Smoke clouds have covered the area and



F. O. B. DETROIT
—Kirby in N. Y. World-Telegram

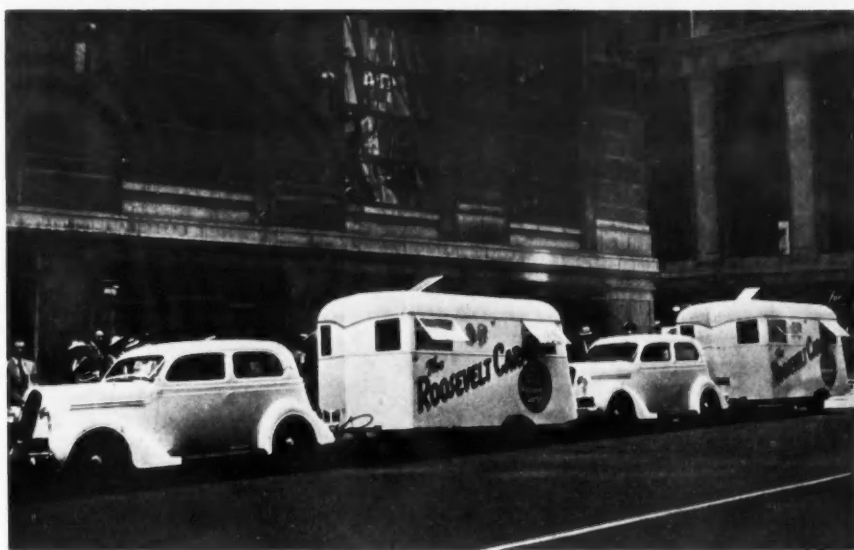
scores of residents have been obliged to abandon their homes. It is feared that forest fires this year might equal those of the drought season of 1934 when, according to Department of Agriculture figures, 42,000,000 acres of forest were burned over.

Fire fighters have been recruited from residents of the stricken area. Men from the nearby CCC camps have been assigned to fire-fighting duties. The National Park Service has thrown its resources into the area wherever park properties have been threatened. The Park Service, in cooperation with the Navy Department, has placed a sea plane in service in northern Michigan in addition to the fire-fighting equipment usually employed. Needed rains, of course, will end the fires if they are not brought under control by workers in the stricken belt.

Prices to Rise

Prices of food are expected to rise and to continue high for the next two years. This is the judgment of experts in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. They base their conclusions upon the crop shortage induced by the drought. The corn is estimated to be the shortest since 1881. The corn shortage may cause hogs and cattle to be marketed early, with the result that meat prices are likely to decline during the next few months, to rise appreciably during 1937.

A threatened milk shortage in the milk sheds of several metropolitan areas has not materialized. However, because of short pastures, the dairy farmers in the New York area are demanding higher prices for their milk. They insist on an increase from \$2.45 to \$2.87 a hundred pounds for fluid milk. It is expected that by the end of 1936 butter will reach a higher price than any time since 1930.



© Acme

THE DEMOCRATIC CARAVAN WHICH WILL TOUR THE COUNTRY IN A CAMPAIGN TO REELECT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

However, the experts of the BAE insist that there will be enough food for domestic consumption. They base this estimate upon a number of factors, among them being an ample supply of poultry together with an increased acreage planted this year in vegetables. Furthermore, there is no serious wheat shortage with the result that bread prices should remain stationary.

Lawyers Report

A special committee of the American Bar Association recently rendered a report in which the opinion was expressed that the trend of New Deal legislation is as "uncertain today as it was two years ago." However, since the American people have not been deprived of election privileges, the committee further stated that any claims that democracy in this country had been replaced by a dictatorship were "careless" and "distorted."

The committee praised the course of the Supreme Court in refusing to accept any new theory relating to the extension of the powers of the federal government. It expressed disapproval of Acts of Congress which incorporate into permanent legislation any of the remedies used as emergency measures during recent years.

The members of the committee who signed the report included Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, now an adviser to Governor Landon. Three members of the committee signed a minority report claiming that the work of the majority was "superficial."

In Brief—

The Treasury Department recently reported that on July 31 the money in circulation in the United States totaled \$6,162,388,961. This is almost \$600,000,000 more than the amount on July 1, 1935. Based on an estimated population of 127,982,000, the Treasury estimates that the per capita circulation of money at the present time is \$48.15.

According to a statement from the Federal Government's Crop Reporting Board, the 1936 cotton crop will produce 12,481,000 bales. This is larger than the 10,638,000 bales of last year but smaller than the five-year average of 14,667,000 bales for 1928-32. It is estimated that the yield this year will be 200 pounds to the acre, compared with 170 pounds as an average for the 10-year period, 1923-32.

Construction of houses during June 1936 was two and a half times as great as in June 1935 and greater than any month since the fall of 1929. This is the estimate made by the Federal Home Loan Bank Review. On the other hand, foreclosures on urban houses for June, on a nationwide basis, were 29 per cent below June 1935. The increase in home construction has been greatest in New York. Its nearest competitor is California, followed by Michigan, Texas, and the District of Columbia.

According to official reports, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, as of June 30, had made 1,021,817 loans during the three years

of its operation. Of these, 6,804 have been repaid in full. Despite the large number of loans made, only 5,448 have been foreclosed. Payments of principal and interest are being made at the rate of more than \$100,000,000 a month.

Names in the News

Rush D. Holt, youthful Democratic senator from West Virginia and critic of the relief policies of the Roosevelt administration, will give the keynote address at the first convention of the National Union for Social Justice at Cleveland.

Ethel Barrymore has announced her retirement from the stage. Long known as one of America's leading actresses, Miss Barrymore hopes to use her time in advising with young people concerning stage careers and with young stage folk on possible improvements in their work.

Jack Dempsey, former heavyweight boxing champion, has accepted the chairmanship of the New York sports committee to promote the reelection of President Roosevelt.

Lincoln Steffens, once known as the "prince of muckrakers," died at his California home last week. Steffens was known as one of the



© W. W.

HARRY F. BYRD

most distinguished newspaper reporters this country has ever produced. He interested himself in the problems of city government and wrote vividly on political bosses and municipal corruption. His "Autobiography" was published a few years ago.

Marion A. Zioncheck, representative in Congress from Washington, was killed recently when he leaped from his fifth floor office in Seattle. Zioncheck has attracted attention during the past year because of his many escapades in the capital city.



SITE A MILE FROM WEST MIDDLESEX, PENNSYLVANIA, BIRTHPLACE OF ALF. M. LANDON, WHERE HE WILL LAUNCH HIS CAMPAIGN

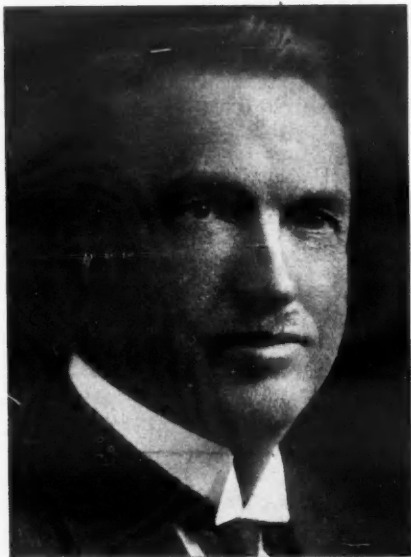
© Acme

Roosevelt Gains

On the strength of 166,000 ballots gathered from all states of the Union, the recent poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion shows an increase in popular approval for President Roosevelt. The poll which was announced four weeks ago gave the President 51.8 per cent of the popular votes. This one gives him 52.4 per cent.

However, the 28 states which are safely Democratic give the President only 255 electoral votes—not enough to make the necessary majority of 266 in the electoral college. On the other hand, the poll shows Governor Landon with a lead in 20 states, carrying a total of 276 electoral votes. These include the pivotal and populous states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, all of which now have Democratic governors. On the basis of the 28 states which seem reasonably safe for the President, he would be assured of election if he carried any one of these pivotal states.

Since the last poll, the President has gained strength in at least seven drought-stricken states. However, in these states the candidacy of Representative William Lemke will cut into the strength of the President more than it will reduce the Republican vote. The poll shows that of every 100 votes cast for Lemke, 70 had voted for Roosevelt in 1932,



© H. & E.

JOHN J. MC SWAIN

nine for Hoover, and four for Thomas. Fourteen had not voted in 1932 and three will vote for the first time this fall.

The Candidates

President Roosevelt returned last week to Washington from his home at Hyde Park. After completing some necessary work, he will leave on a tour of inspection of the areas in western Pennsylvania which suffered last spring from floods. Following his Pennsyl-

vania trip, the chief executive will depart for a trip into the drought belt. He wants to familiarize himself with conditions from first-hand observations. While in the drought belt, he will hold conferences on how the problem can be relieved. One conference is scheduled with the governors of five states, including Governor Landon of Kansas.

Governor Landon has left for a vacation in Colorado where he will prepare for his invasion of the East late this month. He is scheduled to speak at West Middlesex, Pennsylvania, his birthplace, on August 22. On August 24 he will give an evening address at Chautauqua Lake, New York. The following day he will speak at Buffalo, where he will also confer with party leaders. En route from Chicago to the East, the Landon train will make numerous brief stops at Ohio and Pennsylvania towns where the Republican candidate will have an opportunity to greet thousands of voters.

Liberty League Neutral

The American Liberty League recently announced that it would not endorse any party or presidential candidate. Neither will it make any contributions to campaign funds. Because its members have been critical of New Deal legislation sponsored by the Roosevelt administration, it was expected that the League would endorse Governor Landon. The announcement that the League will not make campaign contributions will not prevent its members, as individuals, from contributing to party war chests.

The League, organized in 1934, has recruited its prominent members largely from wealthy industrialists and from Democrats, some of whom have been closely identified with former Governor Smith of New York. The League claims a membership of 150,000 persons, many of whom contributed only \$1 as a membership fee. Its executive officer is Jouett Shouse, a businessman and former newspaper editor, once a member of Congress from Kansas. Since the League and its policies have been vigorously attacked during recent months, it is expected that prominent members may find another organization through which they can oppose the Roosevelt candidacy.

"Constitutional" Democrats

The bolting of presidential candidates by prominent members of both major political parties produces an uncertain element in the approaching election. The "constitutional" Democrats, numbering 45, met in Detroit a few days ago, where they were invited by Sterling E. Edmunds, a St. Louis lawyer, who has been active in opposition to the ratification of the child labor amendment. Ex-Senator James A. Reed of Missouri was the chairman of the conference. Other Democrats in attendance included Joseph B. Ely, former governor of Massachusetts; Bainbridge Colby, former secretary of state; Henry Breckenridge, opponent of President Roosevelt in the preferential primaries of several states; Joseph W.

Bailey, Jr., former congressman from Texas; and John Henry Kirby, head of the Southern League to Uphold the Constitution. Alfred E. Smith, former governor of New York and prominent spokesman for the American Liberty League, declined to attend the conference. William A. Comstock, former governor of Michigan, failed to appear when the conference convened.

The conferees hoped to devise ways of preventing the reelection of President Roosevelt. Ex-Governor Ely's recommendation was rejected by the votes of delegates from southern states when he proposed that the convention endorse Governor Landon. According to ex-Senator Reed, the bolters look forward to a nationwide speaking campaign.

Bolting has also developed in the Republican ranks. William Hale Thompson, twice mayor of Chicago, announced that he will be a candidate for governor of Illinois on the Lemke Union party ticket. His running mate for United States senator will be Newton Jenkins, three times an unsuccessful third-party candidate for the senatorship in that state. The Thompson candidacy is thought to be a



SAY IT OPENLY, FELLOW!

—Elderman in Washington Post

retaliation against the Republican leadership in Illinois. It has no national significance, except that it may give the 29 electoral votes of Illinois to the Democrats.

Claims for Congress

Both Republican and Democratic leaders claim a control of the House of Representatives to be elected in November. Representative P. H. Drewry of Virginia, chairman of the House campaign committee, claims that there will be little change in the next House from the present membership of 315 Democrats and 104 Republicans. Should the Democrats lose every seat which they won in 1934 by less than 10,000 majority, they would still have a working majority of 40 in the House, Representative Drewry claims. However, Representative Robert Low Bacon of New York, vice chairman of the Republican congressional committee, predicts that the Republicans will have a majority in the next House when it convenes in January. In order to accomplish this the Republicans will have to increase their seats by at least 125.

Since only one-third of the members of the upper house are up for election this year, there is not the slightest chance that the Democrats will lose control of the Senate in November. The present Senate, barring a few vacancies, consists of 70 Democrats, 23 Republicans, two Farmer-Laborites and one Progressive. The Republican minority cannot be changed to a majority this year because many of the Senate seats to be filled are from such traditionally Democratic states as South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Florida, and Virginia. There is no chance, therefore, that the Republicans will again control the upper house

until after the election of November 1940. Of the senatorial contests this year none will be watched more closely than that of Idaho where Governor Ben C. Ross is running against Senator William E. Borah.

The Negro Vote

The Negroes will figure more prominently in the approaching presidential campaign than they have in any election since reconstruction days. There will be at least 2,000,000 votes cast by Negroes. Almost all of these ballots will be marked north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers. In Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri the Negro vote may be a deciding factor in the election.

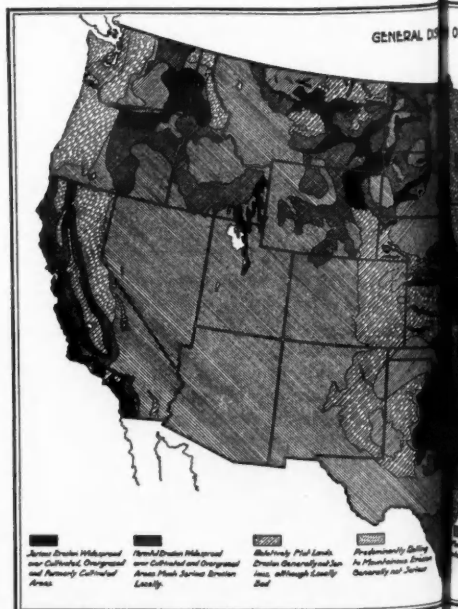
The campaign managers are aware of this condition. While the Negroes have been affiliated with the Republican Party in the past, it is conceded that this year the Democrats will muster at least half of the Negro vote in many places. Negroes have been given jobs in state and city administrations under Democratic control. They have not felt any discrimination in the administration of relief. The members of the race have become candidates for public office in many places on the tickets of both major parties.

This is best illustrated in Chicago where two Negroes are opponents for the seat in the first congressional district of Illinois. Oscar DePriest served two terms in Congress as a Republican from this district before he was defeated in 1934 by Arthur Mitchell. This year Mitchell and DePriest will again battle to represent the district which extends over a portion of the business district and over a part of the highly congested Negro belt.

Overlapping Jobs

At the last session of Congress Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, an advocate of economy in government, secured the appointment of a Senate committee to study the overlapping of government services. While this has been a pressing problem before the federal government for a long time, his efforts were especially aimed at the agencies created during the past three years, in the work of which, he was convinced, there was much unwarranted duplication of effort.

Senator Byrd asked five national authorities to serve as advisers to his committee. These included Louis Brownlow of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago and Luther Gulick of the Institute of Public Administration. Other members included President H. W. Dodds of Princeton University, John D. Clark, an economist; and former Governor William T. Gardiner of Maine.



MAP SHOWING GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

the United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

40. The President also received an appropriation for the appointment of a similar committee. When announced, his committee included the names of Brownlow and Clark, with E. Merriam of the University of Chicago as a third member. Before Congress adjourned a third committee, consisting of five House members, was appointed to study the problem. Now looks as though there are three committees to do one job. It is expected, since there is duplication in the personnel of the committees, that they will be combined to study the problem of simplification and economy in the federal government.

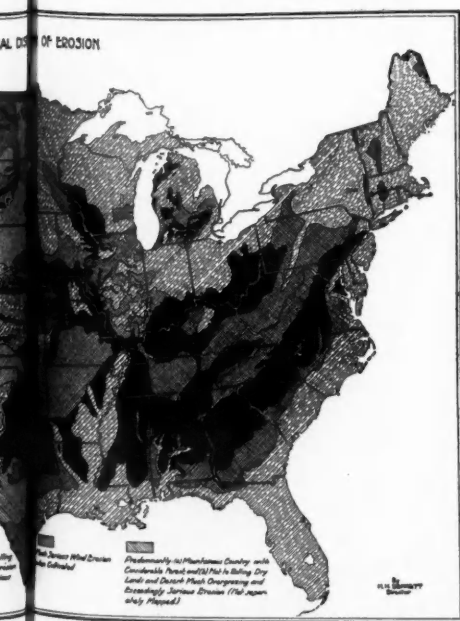
PWA Housing

The PWA announced a few days ago that construction would be started immediately on the quarter-million-dollar housing project at Wayne, Pennsylvania, a Main Line suburb of Philadelphia. The plan calls for the erection of 50 dwelling units which will cover only 20 per cent of the land utilized, the remaining area to be landscaped and used for play areas. To prepare for this construction, 17 badly deteriorated buildings were razed and 41 families moved to temporary quarters. Authorization has also been given to commence work on a PWA housing project at Lexington, Kentucky, to cost \$1,403,000. This enterprise, located on a 68-acre tract, will provide accommodations for 286 families of limited incomes. Construction will consist of one- and two-story houses and flats. They will be equipped with electric lighting and refrigeration, together with gas for cooking and indoor sanitary facilities. The yards will be sufficiently large to provide spaces for gardening.

Misuse of the Soil

The American people have seen the results of dust storms. They have read of the recent spring floods and have gazed at pictures of the damage which swollen streams have done. Experts have told us of the possible exhaustion of our resources through the improper cropping of land. Some have even painted the picture of a rapidly declining American civilization if we do not master the erosion problem. We have heard and read many estimates of the dangers of soil erosion. Stuart Chase, in *Harpers* for August, discusses what is happening to America as the crop lands disappear. He gives us an estimate of the amount of erosion when he writes:

Three billion tons of solid material are washed out of the fields and pastures of America every year by water erosion. To load and haul away this incomprehensible bulk of rich farm soil would require a train of freight cars 475,000 miles long; enough to girdle the planet 19 times at the equator. Approximately 400 million tons of solid



—Courtesy Soil Erosion Service

DISPOSITION OF SOIL EROSION IN U. S.

earth are dumped into the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi alone—the greater part of it super-soil, richer than that of the Nile. Plant food can be restored to soil that has been worn lean by cropping, but when water takes the soil itself—minerals, humus, microscopic organisms, everything—only nature can restore fertility to that land, and her rate, under primeval conditions, is one inch every 500 years.

This is only part of Mr. Chase's indictment of America's misuse of the soil. However, it is enough to cause many to wonder if the federal government, through CCC, RA, soil conservation service, TVA, flood control projects, together with the soil conservation program of AAA, is doing all that is actually needed to conserve our most essential resource—soil.

Drought and Fires

Prolonged drought conditions have developed a tinder box in the northern forest belt with the result that forest fires have been raging in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota for more than two weeks. Careless campers are believed to have been the cause of the extensive destruction. Smoke clouds have covered the area and



F. O. B. DETROIT
—Kirby in N. Y. World-Telegram

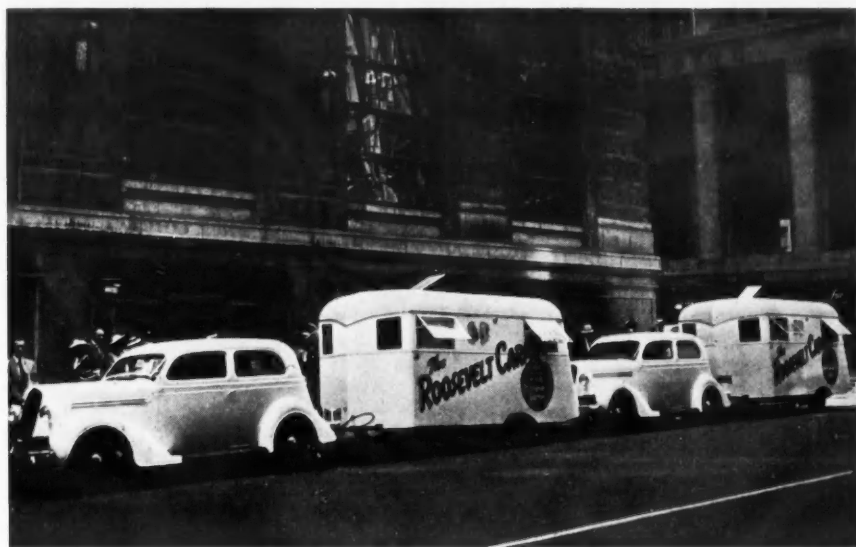
scores of residents have been obliged to abandon their homes. It is feared that forest fires this year might equal those of the drought season of 1934 when, according to Department of Agriculture figures, 42,000,000 acres of forest were burned over.

Fire fighters have been recruited from residents of the stricken area. Men from the nearby CCC camps have been assigned to fire-fighting duties. The National Park Service has thrown its resources into the area wherever park properties have been threatened. The Park Service, in cooperation with the Navy Department, has placed a sea plane in service in northern Michigan in addition to the fire-fighting equipment usually employed. Needed rains, of course, will end the fires if they are not brought under control by workers in the stricken belt.

Prices to Rise

Prices of food are expected to rise and to continue high for the next two years. This is the judgment of experts in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. They base their conclusions upon the crop shortage induced by the drought. The corn is estimated to be the shortest since 1881. The corn shortage may cause hogs and cattle to be marketed early, with the result that meat prices are likely to decline during the next few months, to rise appreciably during 1937.

A threatened milk shortage in the milk sheds of several metropolitan areas has not materialized. However, because of short pastures, the dairy farmers in the New York area are demanding higher prices for their milk. They insist on an increase from \$2.45 to \$2.87 a hundred pounds for fluid milk. It is expected that by the end of 1936 butter will reach a higher price than any time since 1930.



© Acme

THE DEMOCRATIC CARAVAN WHICH WILL TOUR THE COUNTRY IN A CAMPAIGN TO REELECT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

However, the experts of the BAE insist that there will be enough food for domestic consumption. They base this estimate upon a number of factors, among them being an ample supply of poultry together with an increased acreage planted this year in vegetables. Furthermore, there is no serious wheat shortage with the result that bread prices should remain stationary.

Lawyers Report

A special committee of the American Bar Association recently rendered a report in which the opinion was expressed that the trend of New Deal legislation is as "uncertain today as it was two years ago." However, since the American people have not been deprived of election privileges, the committee further stated that any claims that democracy in this country had been replaced by a dictatorship were "careless" and "distorted."

The committee praised the course of the Supreme Court in refusing to accept any new theory relating to the extension of the powers of the federal government. It expressed disapproval of Acts of Congress which incorporate into permanent legislation any of the remedies used as emergency measures during recent years.

The members of the committee who signed the report included Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, now an adviser to Governor Landon. Three members of the committee signed a minority report claiming that the work of the majority was "superficial."

In Brief—

The Treasury Department recently reported that on July 31 the money in circulation in the United States totaled \$6,162,388,961. This is almost \$600,000,000 more than the amount on July 1, 1935. Based on an estimated population of 127,982,000, the Treasury estimates that the per capita circulation of money at the present time is \$48.15.

According to a statement from the Federal Government's Crop Reporting Board, the 1936 cotton crop will produce 12,481,000 bales. This is larger than the 10,638,000 bales of last year but smaller than the five-year average of 14,667,000 bales for 1928-32. It is estimated that the yield this year will be 200 pounds to the acre, compared with 170 pounds as an average for the 10-year period, 1923-32.

Construction of houses during June 1936 was two and a half times as great as in June 1935 and greater than any month since the fall of 1929. This is the estimate made by the Federal Home Loan Bank Review. On the other hand, foreclosures on urban houses for June, on a nationwide basis, were 29 per cent below June 1935. The increase in home construction has been greatest in New York. Its nearest competitor is California, followed by Michigan, Texas, and the District of Columbia.

According to official reports, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, as of June 30, had made 1,021,817 loans during the three years

of its operation. Of these, 6,804 have been repaid in full. Despite the large number of loans made, only 5,448 have been foreclosed. Payments of principal and interest are being made at the rate of more than \$100,000,000 a month.

Names in the News

Rush D. Holt, youthful Democratic senator from West Virginia and critic of the relief policies of the Roosevelt administration, will give the keynote address at the first convention of the National Union for Social Justice at Cleveland.

Ethel Barrymore has announced her retirement from the stage. Long known as one of America's leading actresses, Miss Barrymore hopes to use her time in advising with young people concerning stage careers and with young stage folk on possible improvements in their work.

Jack Dempsey, former heavyweight boxing champion, has accepted the chairmanship of the New York sports committee to promote the reelection of President Roosevelt.

Lincoln Steffens, once known as the "prince of muckrakers," died at his California home last week. Steffens was known as one of the



© W. W.

HARRY F. BYRD

most distinguished newspaper reporters this country has ever produced. He interested himself in the problems of city government and wrote vividly on political bosses and municipal corruption. His "Autobiography" was published a few years ago.

Marion A. Zioncheck, representative in Congress from Washington, was killed recently when he leaped from his fifth floor office in Seattle. Zioncheck has attracted attention during the past year because of his many escapades in the capital city.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

Liberalism Versus Conservatism in 1932

This week we bring to a close our series of discussions on some of the outstanding presidential campaigns in American history. With the next issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, which will appear the first week in September, we shall resume our work of correlating historical developments with present-day trends. We shall follow as closely as possible the work of the history classes so as to enable students of American history to see the gradual evolution of present problems and developments from their historical beginnings.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

For the last of this series we have chosen the presidential campaign of 1932 when Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt fought for the highest political office in the land. The campaign of 1932 offers an interesting study not only because it was the first time since the World War that the Democratic party had a serious chance of winning the presidency but also because the chief contenders for the presidency held vitally different philosophies of government. Unlike the preceding campaign in which, as we pointed out last week, there was no sharp cleavage of philosophy, both Smith and Hoover representing the conservative point of view, the battle of 1932 was really fought on conservative and liberal grounds. President Hoover ably and consistently upheld the conservative position, whereas Governor Roosevelt represented a liberal philosophy of government and economics.

It is true, of course, that President Hoover had not at all times followed the conservative philosophy to its logical conclusion during the course of his administration. That philosophy would have entailed no interference on the part of government with the economic machine. In times past, depressions had been allowed to run their course until deflation had gone sufficiently far to permit the usual upswing in the business cycle. A conservative program would have called for the same thing in the present depression. But as the depression deepened, and the temper of the people became more and more revolutionary, the hand of the government was forced and it had to step in and prevent natural economic forces from taking their course.

When the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was organized under the Hoover administration, a definite break was made with the past. The weight of the government's credit was thrown into the breach to underpin the private debt structure of the nation. Many banks, insurance companies, and other credit institutions, as well as the railroads, were kept out of bankruptcy solely because the government established a huge super-bank to prevent collapse. The importance of this break with the past can hardly be overemphasized because with it we find the beginning of a philosophy of government which has been carried to great lengths during the last few years.

Hoover's Philosophy

If we are to understand the differences in the basic philosophy of Hoover and Roosevelt, we must turn back to their addresses of the campaign. For the most part, they confined themselves to a discussion of specific issues. But in at least one address each of the candidates made clear his conception of the proper role and function of government and it is in these addresses that we find the cleavage. President Hoover outlined his philosophy clearly and in some detail in his acceptance address, while the Rooseveltian philosophy was stated in an address before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco. Unfortunately, we cannot quote at length from these addresses, but we can give the central thought of each in order to emphasize the differences of views of the two candidates. In defending his position and the position of the Republican party, Mr. Hoover spoke as follows:

We have held that the federal government should in the presence of grave national danger use its powers to give leadership to the initiative, the courage, and the fortitude of the people themselves, but it must insist upon individual community and state responsibility. That it should furnish leadership to assure the coordination and unity of all existing agencies, governmental and private, for economic and humanitarian action. That where it becomes necessary to meet emergencies beyond the power of these agencies by the creation of new government instrumentalities, that they should be of such character as not to supplant or weaken, but rather to supplement and strengthen, the initiative and enterprise of our people. That they must, directly or indirectly, serve all the people. Above all, that they should be set up in such form that once the emergency is passed they can and must be demobilized and withdrawn, leaving our governmental, our economic, and our social structure, strong and whole.

The whole tenor of the speech is conservative. It is a magnificent statement of

the doctrine of "rugged individualism." There is no indication in it that any of the economic ills with which the country was afflicted were of a permanent nature, requiring changed conceptions of government and the strong arm of government to correct them. There is a general tone of letting business take care of its own troubles, except for the duration of the emergency. There is no talk of interfering with the free working of the economic system by such devices as old-age pensions and unemployment insurance, by establishing regulation of hours and wages, by regulating business in such a way as to bring about a more equitable distribution of income. In a word, it was Mr. Hoover's belief that the country was fundamentally sound and that if the government had to step in for a while during the crisis, it should get out as soon as the crisis was over. "The test of that freedom," said the President, "is that there should be maintained equality of opportunity to every individual so that he may achieve for himself the best to which his character, his ability, and his ambition entitle him."

Roosevelt's Position

Governor Roosevelt held different views of the proper role of government in its relation to business and to the general economic well-being of its citizens. In his San Francisco address, he spoke of the "new conditions" that "impose new requirements upon government and those who conduct government." He spoke of "modifying and controlling our economic units." Elaborating upon this point, the Democratic candidate declared:

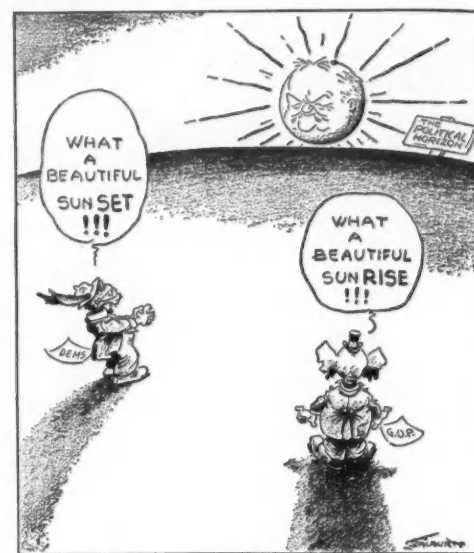
As I see it, the task of government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order. This is the common task of statesman and businessman. It is the minimum requirement of a more permanently safe order of things.

Mr. Roosevelt spoke of the main task of the nation as that of "administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, or adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organization to the service of the people."

That his ideas of individualism differed markedly from those of his opponent is evident from the following paragraph taken from the same address:

Every man has a right to life, and this means that he has also a right to make a comfortable living. He may by sloth or crime decline to exercise that right, but it must not be denied him. Our government, formal and informal, political and economic, owes to every man an avenue to possess himself of sufficient for his needs through his own work. Every man has a right to his own property, which means a right to be assured to the fullest extent attainable, in the safety of his earnings. By no other means can men carry the burdens of those parts of life which in the nature of things afford no chance of labor—childhood, sickness, old age. In all thoughts of property, this right is paramount; all other property rights must yield to it. If, in accordance with this principle, we must restrict the operations of the speculator, the manipulator, even the financier, I believe we must accept the restriction as needful, not to hamper individualism but to protect it.

This was the basis of the New Deal philosophy of 1932. It inevitably implied a stronger central government to regulate the economic machinery of the nation so as to make it work



COMING OR GOING
—Talbot in Washington News

more smoothly and more equitably. It envisaged a definite break from the past and it recognized that fundamental changes had come about—changes which demanded a new concept of government. It did not admit the Hoover thesis that everything was sound and that the government had to interfere in the economic life of the nation only temporarily.

It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the voters in 1932 made an intelligent decision between the liberal philosophy of Roosevelt and the conservative philosophy of Hoover. Rightly or wrongly, they blamed President Hoover and his Republican administration for many of their difficulties and thus voted for a change rather than for a clear-cut and definite philosophy of government. Just as in 1920 they were tired of the idealism and reforms of President Wilson and voted for "normalcy and serenity," so in 1932 they voted for action, for a man who, they thought at least, would bring forth a program that would relieve them from their distress which was becoming more and more unbearable.

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

The reason why many a candidate can't take a stand on any issue is because those who pull the strings keep him dancing all the time.
—Washington Post

Voters will have four months in which to distinguish between pledges and promises.
—Milwaukee SENTINEL

There is no one more than I who deprecates the publication of any article, or the exhibition of any film, which causes offense to any foreign government.
—Cordell Hull

Another thing that helps to keep this country in a turmoil is the peculiar attraction that strong lungs have for weak heads.
—Thomaston (Ga.) TIMES

We see no reason why Doc. Townsend and the Rev. Mr. Smith can't merge their movements. It's a cinch that if they give the old folks pensions of \$200 a month, their relatives will just naturally come around to share the wealth.
—Boston HERALD

There is no doubt in my mind that this country—and remember it is only 150 years old—will soon be the art center of the world.
—Mayor LaGuardia, New York City

Training the baby as the book advises is a good idea. All you need is a different book for each baby.
—St. Louis STAR-TIMES

The sands of a Florida island have given up skeletons eight feet tall—evidently those of front-row occupants at prehistoric movie houses.
—Atlanta CONSTITUTION

If we would pay more attention to the making of our citizens, we would not be obligated to spend so much in attempts at their remaking.

—James A. Johnston,
Warden of Alcatraz Prison



THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT-ELECT ON INAUGURATION DAY, 1933

© Harris and Ewing

Among the New Books

The Master Politician

"Machiavelli and His Times," by D. Erskine Muir (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. \$3).

THE name of Machiavelli is popularly associated with that which is crafty, cunning, and ruthless in political life. This reputation the Italian theorist, who lived in the fifteenth century, owes mainly to a small volume of his, entitled "The Prince," in which rulers are admonished not to hesitate in the means they use to strengthen the authority of the state.

In this most recent biography of him, Erskine Muir points out that an injustice has been done to Machiavelli. His ideas seem repulsive to modern liberal thought only when they are rooted out of the soil which gave them growth. To see Machiavelli as a product of his times, to read his writings in the light of the problems then facing Italy, to follow his personal life is to disabuse oneself of superficial notions about the man and his political philosophy.

Niccolo Machiavelli was no monster in his lair. He was very much like his contemporaries. That his personal life did not chance to be above reproach is certainly not to be counted against him. The Florence of his day was so dissolute and reckless that scandals were spoken of in the same tone of voice that one might use in commenting upon the weather, and with the same air of boredom. Nor did he differ in other ways from thousands of other respectable citizens. He was a kindly person, after a fashion, affectionate and devoted to his family and friends. He was not haughty or vain. While he delighted, of course, in the company of artists and intellectuals, he was not beyond joining a group of peasants in their small talk. And as a public official, Machiavelli was to be esteemed. He was hard-working, sincere, conscientious. Never did a breath of financial scandal issue from his office. He died a poor man.

To understand how this average citizen was yet moved to advocate tyrannical methods in the conduct of a government, one must inquire into the state into which Italy had fallen. The country, at that time, was hopelessly divided. One city republic quarreled with another. Side by side with the art and luxury of the rich were the squalor and economic despair of the great mass of people. It was becoming obvious, Machiavelli felt, that the republics would do nothing to help the whole country, dominated as their governments were by wealthy groups and families. Under these circumstances, what was necessary above all was a strong ruler, a prince who could subject all class divisions to the power of the state. Naturally, there would be opposition on the part of those who had previously occupied a position of prominence and authority. That is why a ruler will not hesitate in suppressing his opponents to have recourse, if there be need,

to treachery, deceit and falsehood. These were but the means. The end was the happiness of the whole people.

Aids to Teaching

"Problems of Our Times," Vol. 2, by Brainard and Zeleny, \$1.48 and "Economics, an Introduction to Fundamental Problems," by Augustus H. Smith, \$1.60. (New York: McGraw-Hill Co.).

DURING the past decade we have had almost as many books on current problems as we have had problems. In this instance Brainard and Zeleny combine their skill, as historian and sociologist respectively, to the formulation of an intelligently conceived and well written volume which could be used as a basic text in many high schools. If not as a basic text, then it should supplement the futile treatises on government structure and on economic theory which are now so widely employed. The editor of the series, of which this book is a part, tells us that this volume is designed "to arouse a lifelong interest in current problems." That is a big order, indeed, but there is every reason to believe that young Americans might be caught by the dramatic temper of the present era if they read the chapters dealing with such activities as TVA, CCC, federal housing, extension of medical care, and the conservation of our resources. Planning constitutes the theme of the book. For this the authors may be charged with wanting to indoctrinate. However, they have honestly stated the facts and doubtless are willing to let the chips fall where they may.

While Brainard and Zeleny concentrate upon modern problems through the eyeglasses of planning, Mr. Smith, gives us a volume of descriptive economics in which he aptly drapes his problems on a skeleton of economic theory. Capital, rent, wages, interest, and profits constitute a few of the many approaches. However, as one reads the book, he is struck with a total lack of a unifying theme. There is no central idea which cuts across the 500 pages of text. Only by integrating and unifying the materials of this text can it be made into a functioning reality. However, that is the job of the skillful teacher.

Seeking Utopia

"Economic Welfare," by Oscar Newfang. (New York: Barnes & Noble, \$1.50).

WITHIN the brief space of 184 pages, Mr. Newfang discusses such matters as "capital and labor, agriculture and industry, foreign trade and tariffs, production and distribution, Constitution and Supreme Court, wage system, partnership system, government regulation and ownership, inheritance and income taxes, labor unions, child labor, money, banking, inflation, regulation of population, speculation and panics, natural resources." And

all for the niggardly sum of \$1.50.

It is at once obvious that the author covers so much territory that it is impossible for him to deal profoundly with any of the subjects he treats. The merit of this volume is that it clearly, even though sketchily, discusses this wide variety of topics and shows their relationship to one another.

If the book had undertaken to do this and no more it would have realized its goal. But the author was more ambitious. He subtitled his book, "A Plan for Economic Security for Every Family." It is at this point that the volume falls flat. The author naively says that there should be a partnership between capital and labor, but does not tell how such a partnership can be achieved. He would have every American family own its own home, every farmer own the land he tills, and the entire population possess "a continuous and sufficient income."

To attain these objectives, Mr. Newfang would rely neither on Communism nor complete private initiative. Instead, he feels, there should be increasing government regulation. This is the gist of the author's "Plan for Economic Security for Every Family." It would be too much to call it original.

From the Magazines

"Taxpayer, Meet Your County," by William and Kathryn Cordell, Survey Graphic, August, 1936.

THE frequent demands voiced for the decentralization of government and for relinquishing to local bodies many of the functions now performed by the federal government have led the authors of this article to make a searching study of one of the least understood and appreciated of local units, the county.

County organization dates far back in American history, having arisen to meet the needs of pioneer conditions and slow transportation. The system is now very extensively developed with over 3,000 county seats in the United States. The duties of county officers vary in different states but their number averages about 10, exclusive of a host of deputy clerks, assistants, and stenographers. According to the writers, this county system is our greatest national extravagance. Its cost to each American citizen was close to \$13 in 1932, an increase of more than 300 per cent in 20 years. This increase is in spite of the fact that the duties of the county government have each year been growing fewer.

What has happened is that the system has fostered a political hierarchy which exercises a great deal of power and will not be dislodged. According to the writers, many of the county officials have little, if anything, to do and they may be found passing their time playing checkers or other games. There is, further, a great deal of extravagance and inefficiency in whatever affairs they still have to administer. Normally, there is no official head of the county government to exercise needed supervision. In addition to the incompetency which this fosters, it also places before the weak officials a temptation which they are occasionally at no pains to resist. There is no branch of our government, the authors conclude, which is more in need of drastic reorganization.

"Inside De Valera," by John Gunther, Harper's, August, 1936.

THE London correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, whose recent volume on European affairs is still on the best seller lists, here gives a portrait of the president of the Irish Free State.

Like several other leaders, notably Hitler of Germany, Schuschnigg of Austria, and



NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

—From a portrait in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Illustration from "Machiavelli and His Times," by D. Erskine Muir (Dutton).

Kemal Ataturk of Turkey, Eamon de Valera was not born in the country over which he now rules. His birthplace was New York City and it was at the age of two that he arrived in Ireland. He was educated in Dublin and became a teacher. There followed many years before he reached his present position, years that were marked by revolution, bloody civil wars, imprisonment, and threats of death. In sketching the personal traits of De Valera, Mr. Gunther notes that he is a very hard worker, paying scrupulous attention to detail. Often at night, he can be found working late in his very simple office, after he has had a meager supper of bread and butter.

Intellectually, he is a very superior person. He is fond of reading, especially the works of Shakespeare and Gaelic writers. He takes uncommon delight in solving difficult mathematical problems. When he was in jail in 1918, he spent all his time mastering the Einstein theories of relativity.

In office, Mr. De Valera is easily accessible and each day he receives a large number of visitors. No great fanfare accompanies these visits. Unique as it may be among leaders of state, there is not about him the great beating of wings by assistant secretaries. At public functions, he is most reserved, paying no attention to the audience. He is not, however, any the less amiable for this reserve, nor is he without a sense of humor. The story is told of him that he was once arrested in the city of Ennis while making an address. A year later, immediately upon his release from prison, he returned to Ennis to make another speech, beginning it with the words: "As I was saying when I was interrupted . . ."

President de Valera, the writer concludes, is wholly devoted to his people and his land. He is altogether without personal ambition. He seeks only to achieve a united and independent Ireland.

"America Self Contained?" by Frank A. Southard, Jr. Forum, August 1936.

AMERICAN citizens are addicted to the belief that our country is economically self-sufficient and could get along handsomely without any foreign trade. According to this article, in which we find ample evidence presented, nothing could be farther from the mark. The author contends that when we encourage economic self-sufficiency we are flirting with economic suicide. In answer to the current sneer that our foreign trade amounts to no more than 10 per cent of the total volume of business, the author faces the situation realistically when he shows that even in 1933, 70 per cent of our cotton, 34 per cent of leaf tobacco, together with 30 per cent of agricultural implements, and 15 per cent of radio equipment, to say nothing of many other important commodities, went into export trade.



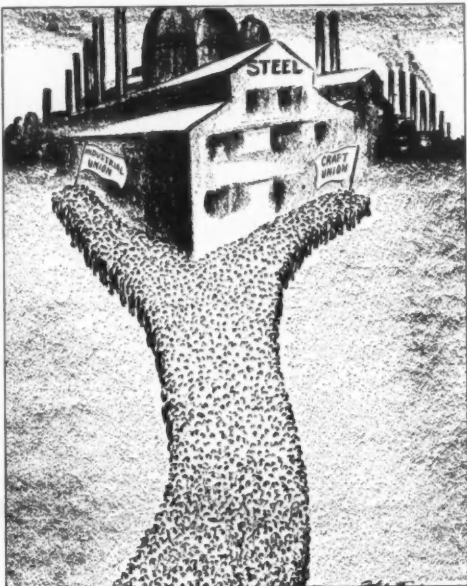
WILSON DAM AT MUSCLE SHOALS, ALABAMA

—Illustration from "Problems of Our Times," by Brainard and Zeleny



TO PRESERVE "SELF-RESPECT"

—Elderman in Washington Post



THE GREAT DIVIDE

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Split in Organized Labor May Have Important Repercussions

(Concluded from page 1)

It is the principal argument of those who favor the industrial union that such a type of labor organization is better suited to the present needs of American labor than is the craft union. With mass-production methods in so many leading industries today, the craft union is able to aid only a limited number of workers since its members are taken from among the skilled laborers. A type of organization which will embrace the great bulk of unskilled workers is the pressing need today, according to the Lewis group. Mr. Lewis has often contended that at least 25,000,000 workers should belong to labor unions instead of the 3,000,000 or so who are now members of the A. F. of L.

Activities of CIO

It was in order to organize these millions of unskilled workers that the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed last year. This step was the direct outgrowth of a controversy that has been growing more bitter for years, as the question of sponsoring industrial unionization in the mass-production industries has been debated at the annual conventions of the Federation. Following last year's meeting, where the debates reached a high pitch of intensity, the CIO was formed and since that time it has been striving to organize certain of the large industries. Its biggest drive has been made in the steel industry (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, July 13, 1936), but it has also announced its intention of going ahead with the workers of the rubber, cement, radio, aluminum, electrical, textile, and oil industries.

From the very beginning, this committee has met the opposition of the heads of the A. F. of L. A few weeks after the CIO was formed, William Green ordered it to disorganize, branding it as a "dual organization." Mr. Green declared that the Federation would not help the CIO to organize the workers of the steel industry into an industrial union and that it intended to organize those workers engaged in different types of work into craft unions. But the leaders of the CIO refused to obey the instructions and went ahead in their campaign to organize the steel industry.

It gradually became apparent that a compromise was no longer possible as both sides refused to back down from the positions to which they had adhered. In July, the executive council of the Federation met to consider the question of suspending the unions which belonged to the CIO. Definite action was postponed, however, until this month, when, by a vote of 13 to one, the council voted to suspend 10 of the 12 unions belonging to the Lewis committee.

There can be no doubt that this split in the ranks of organized labor will have serious consequences. Exactly what these consequences will be, no one can predict at this time. Mr. Lewis has declared that his committee will go ahead with its organization plans in the hope of getting 4,000,000 unorganized workers into industrial unions. Whether the CIO will go so far as to launch a new labor organization in competition with the A. F. of L. cannot now be predicted, although the possibility of such a step must clearly be recognized. Much will depend upon the results of the annual convention of the Federation which will be held in November. At that time, the question of permanently ousting the unions belonging to the CIO will have to be considered.

Whatever happens, the Lewis group is confident of the future. It believes that it can successfully weather the storm of opposition from the A. F. of L. leadership. At the present time about a third of the members of the A. F. of L. belong to unions affiliated with the CIO. There are other industrial unionists who, Mr. Lewis believes, will desert the leadership of the Federation and come over to his side should the split become irreconcilable. These, together with the workers who are not organized but whom the CIO expects to bring into industrial unions, would place the Lewis group far in the ascendancy.

One of the most serious consequences of such a split would, of course, be upon the labor movement itself. With dual labor organizations in the same industry, no end of trouble is likely to result. Where both craft unions and an industrial union existed in a given industry, conflicts would arise as to which should have jurisdiction in dealing with employers. The craft unions might not agree, for example, to a strike which the industrial union was sponsoring. Labor would be so divided as to make practically futile its efforts to bargain collectively with employers. It is because of this possibility that many friends of labor are doing their utmost to smooth over the differences before irrevocable action is taken by the Federation.

Political Effects

Not only is this schism in the ranks of labor expected to have serious consequences for labor itself, but many see in the decision of the executive council to suspend the CIO unions a step which may well effect the outcome of the presidential election. It is a well known fact that organized labor has in the main been sympathetic to the reelection of President Roosevelt. The Lewis group has been particularly active in its efforts to reelect Mr. Roosevelt, and

Mr. Lewis and the President have been on intimate terms for some time. The rest of the Federation is divided in its support, part of it favoring the President and part of it working for Governor Landon.

It has been pointed out by certain observers of labor problems that the Republicans may use the A. F. of L. split to further their cause in November. Since it is well known that the President and Mr. Lewis are on the best of terms, they might argue to the craft unionists, who have no stomach for Lewis and his CIO, that a vote for Roosevelt in November will be a vote for Lewis, and that in case of a victory for the President the power and influence of the Lewis

group will be greatly increased after the next election. Some have even gone so far as to argue that the supporters of Mr. Lewis may well succeed in taking over the Democratic machine before 1940, or failing in that, may form a labor party and place John L. Lewis in nomination for the Presidency. This position is taken by Arthur Krock who, writing recently in the New York Times, declares:

The Republicans hope to capitalize this situation and turn the craft unions' supporters automatically into voters for Alf M. Landon. To accomplish it they will use subtle methods, as invisible as they can make them. They would, of course, welcome any overt move by the administration which would disaffect the Greenites by showing open partiality for the Lewisites. But, respecting the President as a strategist, they hardly hope for that. What they do hope for is a psychological merger of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Lewis, whereby—there will instantly arise a psychological merger of the anti-Lewisites and Mr. Landon. Since this would produce many Republican votes in a section of the population where, some months ago, few were expected, the gain would represent pure velvet for the Republican party.

The leaders of the Democratic party are aware of this danger. They are counting strongly on the united support of labor to reelect Mr. Roosevelt and realize that the labor vote may well turn the election. Throughout the dispute, the White House has attempted to steer a neutral course so as to offend neither faction. It is no secret that the President hoped that the open break could be averted until after the election, but now that it has come double care will have to be used to keep the majority of organized labor well in line.

Long-Range View

But all these possibilities must be considered from the short-range point of view. Looking at the schism from the long-range consequences, far more important results may follow. Because of the fundamental differences of philosophy between the two opposing groups of labor organizations, the outcome of the dispute may affect vitally the future relations of labor to government and the future role of labor in American economic life. In order to appreciate some of these possibilities we must examine for a moment the historic role of labor in American history.

It should be clearly borne in mind that the dualism in labor organization represented by the present dispute is not the first time in our history that labor has been so divided. Back in the sixties of the last century, the labor movement made great headway and one of the leading organiza-

tions, the Knights of Labor, sought to enroll all workers, skilled and unskilled, into a single union. This organization carried on an aggressive campaign in both the economic and political fields. It fought for the eight-hour day, higher wages, the abolition of child labor. It was successful in winning many strikes and in securing most of its demands. Encouraged by its early successes, it went on to more radical demands, a number of which were definitely socialistic in nature.

It was not long before this organization met bitter opposition from two sources. In the first place, employers and investors and capitalists, big and small, tightened their lines in opposing its aims. But labor might well have withstood this opposition had it been able to keep its own ranks well intact. But it was not long before the aristocracy of labor, the skilled workers, began to break away. They felt that their own objectives could better be realized if they were organized into separate unions and a separate organization than if they were forced to associate with what they considered the riff-raff of labor. This rival group was organized into a separate group, largely through the efforts of Samuel Gompers, in 1881. From then to the end of the century it became the dominating labor organization.

The whole philosophy of the newly formed organization, which five years later became the American Federation of Labor, different from that of the Knights. It was primarily a conservative philosophy which looked askance upon direct political action. Gompers and the other leaders were no revolutionaries, but sought rather to improve the lot of labor within the capitalist system by working for higher wages, shorter hours, and generally more favorable conditions for American labor. Although it made considerable progress, the A. F. of L. failed to organize the great bulk of workers and by the end of the century its membership had only doubled from the number enrolled in 1886.

The A. F. of L. has always represented primarily the upper crust of labor. While it has demanded legislation designed to improve the lot of workers, these demands have never been of a radical nature, insofar as the fundamental issues of society were concerned. It has shunned direct political action from the beginning. It is because of the challenge which they make to many of the traditional policies of organized labor that the activities of the CIO are important. If the present rift in the A. F. of L. becomes permanent, and a new labor organization emerges, important developments may be expected. The Lewis group may be expected not only to bring renewed energy in its drive to organize all workers into labor unions, but also to assume a more militant attitude toward the basic economic and social problems of the day and to attempt to give labor a more important part in American political life.



WHICH ROAD?

—Kirby in N. Y. World-Telegram